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1. Attached herewith for your information and retention is a memorandum sent by the Rumanian National Committee to the General Assembly of the United Nations.
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H.E. Mr.
Chairman of the Delegation of
to the General Assembly of the United Nations

By their letter of August 25, 1950, the Governments of Australia, of the United Kingdom, and of the United States requested that the matter of the German and Japanese war prisoners still held by the Soviet Union be placed on the Agenda of the current meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Rumanian National Committee has the honor to draw the attention of Your Excellency to the fact that numerous former war prisoners of other nationalities have likewise been retained, and are still being held at the present time, within the U.S.S.R., in spite of formal undertakings by the Soviet government with regard to their repatriation. Among them there is a large number of former Rumanian war prisoners, who, in violation of the provisions of Article 20 of the Peace Treaty with Rumania, have yet to be set free and returned to their homes.

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The number of these Rumanian war prisoners taken by the Soviet army was, according to the statistics of the Rumanian General Staff, at the end of 1944, 320,000 (17,500 officers and 302,500 non-commissioned officers and men). To this number must be added the 20,000 Rumanian prisoners taken by the German and Hungarian armies after August 23, 1944, and subsequently seized by the Soviet army in the Eastern zone of Germany. There must be added, too, some 80,000 Rumanian prisoners who fought in the ranks of the Hungarian army, being drafted from the Northern part of Transylvania, which had been occupied by Hungary from 1940 to 1944, following the German-Italian "arbitration" of Vienna. The total number of Rumanian prisoners of war who should have been repatriated is, therefore, approximately 420,000. Of these, the Soviet government returned to Rumania only 190,000, which leaves a balance of 230,000. Even admitting that many of these unfortunates died as the result of ill treatment, there can be no doubt that a great number are still in the Soviet Union.
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The Rumanian National Committee wishes to express its firm hope that the General Assembly of the United Nations will find it proper and right to take cognizance of the issue as a whole, that is, to consider all former war prisoners still being held on Soviet territory, whatever their

- 2 -

nationality may be. It trusts, too, that the decision that will follow, in conformity with the dispositions of Articles 10, 14 and 1, # 53 of the United Nations Charter, with regard to the request presented by Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, will refer likewise to former Rumanian prisoners of war who have not yet been repatriated.

The Rumanian National Committee remains at the disposal of the appropriate organs of the United Nations General Assembly, to provide all necessary data concerning former Rumanian war prisoners in the Soviet Union.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of our highest consideration.

for the RUMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

AUGUSTIN POPA

former member of the
Rumanian Parliament

CONSTANTIN VISOIANU

former Minister of Foreign
Affairs of Rumania

RUMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
2910 Que Street N.W.
Washington D.C.

October 2, 1950.

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THIS IS AN ENCLOSURE
DO NOT DETACH

H.E.Mr.
Chairman of the Delegation of
to the General Assembly of the United Nations.-

Sir:

Rumania is at the present time subjugated by a foreign power, by means of a communist government imposed through force and fraud. The independence of the Rumanian state has been suppressed. All elementary rights and liberties of Rumanian citizens have been set at naught. People in Rumania may no longer read, think, or pray freely. A social and economic regime alien to their own aspirations and traditions was imposed upon them under duress and is being maintained forcibly. The country is being mercilessly exploited for the sole benefit of the Soviet Union, which drains off its resources and makes use of its production for the ends of Russian-Communist imperialism. The people may but toil and suffer. A nation once free and flourishing is now reduced to a level of physical and moral degradation unparalleled in all its long and tormented history.

All these things have come to pass owing to the presence of an army of occupation, an army that is still there today, four years after the signature of the Peace Treaty. That Peace Treaty, let it be recalled, solemnly and explicitly guaranteed the independence of the Rumanian state. It guaranteed too the fundamental rights and liberties of Rumanian citizens.

But the Soviet Union does not respect international agreements, no matter how solemn or explicit, just as it does not respect its own most solemn and explicit statements. On April 3, 1944, Mr. Molotov, then People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, stated: "The Soviet government declares that it does not pursue the aim of conquering any part of Rumanian territory or of changing in whatever manner the existing social order in Rumania."

Yet on March 6, 1945, the Soviet Union imposed on the country a Communist government that was given the mission to transform radically the social structure of Rumania and to transfer the state's independence to the hands of the Soviet

government.

At Yalta, Soviet Russia signed the joint statement saying in part: "... the three governments will jointly assist the people of any European liberated state or former Axis satellite in Europe, where in their judgment, conditions require ... to form interim governments broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment, through free elections, of governments responsive to the will of the people."

Yet barely a few weeks later, that same Soviet government imposed in Rumania a government that represents but the most insignificant minority, and directed it to set up the most tyrannical regime known to the world, following the most fraudulent elections ever to be recorded.

At Potsdam, together with the governments of Great Britain and the United States, the Soviet government once again reaffirmed the principles adopted at Yalta, furthermore agreeing that peace treaties would not be concluded with Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, except with "recognized democratic governments in these states". That statement officially branded the government installed in Bucarest as undemocratic and unrepresentative. Thereupon the King of Rumania requested that government to resign, in order to proceed with the formation of a new government, a democratic and representative one, in accordance with the will of the people, with the provisions of the Constitution, and with existing international obligations. But the Soviet Union opposed any such change and forcibly maintained the Communist regime in power.

The entire civilized world, and particularly the United Nations Organization, have begun to know these methods and to feel their results. They are being applied systematically and mercilessly in all countries that have fallen under Soviet military occupation. One after another, ancient and independent nations have fallen victims to the same system of terror and fraud. Rumania, a close neighbor of the Soviet Union, was among the first to do so. And it is in our country that the Soviet system assumed perhaps its most manifest character and its most tragic aspect, because there Soviet intervention, imposing a Communist regime, was more brutal, more obvious than elsewhere. In Rumania, more so than anywhere else, the enthronement of a Communist government in a thoroughly non-Communist country may be observed in grim detail.

Nothing was allowed to stand in the way of this merciless operation: neither the country's unanimous will, nor solemn international pledges signed by the Soviet Union, nor yet the formal protests of its allies, the United States and Great Britain.

Rumania was to be the first step of Russian-Communist expansion. It had to be subjugated. The initial means was the installation of a Communist government, made up especially of Communists that had been schooled in Moscow and that had become Soviet citizens. This government, moreover, had to be entirely alien to all the best traditions and aspirations of the Rumanian people. It was not required to represent the will of the Rumanian people; its mission was to carry out the orders of the Kremlin, to carry them out ruthlessly and without delay. At first that government was to include a handful of hostages: intellectuals willing to betray the ideals of humanity and liberty, or politicians that had in the past joined any and all parties, men of no convictions and of no faith. But these were soon to be liquidated, and the government became undisguisedly and wholly a Communist one.

Such was the nature, such the purpose of the present government, installed under duress by Mr. Vishinsky personally on March 6, 1945. (Cf. the letter of Mr. C. Visoianu, former Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. W. Austin, United States Representative, of 8 December 1949. United States Mission to the United Nations Press Release No. 780, of 13 December 1949).

Once brought to the country's helm, under the conditions described above, the government began to carry out the program imposed by the Kremlin. Essentially, this meant: a) the transfer of Rumania's sovereignty and independence into the hands of the Soviet government; b) the transfer of the country's entire economic resources to Soviet ownership; c) the forcible transformation of the social and economic structure into a Communist regime; and d) the thorough suppression of all basic freedoms and of all civic rights.

The process was an intricate one. It was a major tragedy for the people of Rumania. The most diabolical means served its purposes - above all fraud and terror. And, as Rumania's independence was gradually alienated, the regime shamelessly proclaimed the country to be free and sovereign. While the country's economy was being drained stage by stage, the regime boasted of the people's prosperity, due to the "generous collaboration" of the Soviet Union. As the free press was gradually throttled and done away with, as the political parties were suppressed, as justice was placed in the service of the Communist party, as education was perverted, religion enslaved, and the jails filled with innocent people, it was ever more loudly asserted that, at long last, for the first time in its history, the people of Rumania were increasingly enjoying the "blessings of true democracy".

The truth is that today in Rumania all rights and freedoms have been effectively suppressed. All the more prominent

political men are imprisoned, some convicted by so-called "popular justice", others not even formally arraigned. The most noble figures of Rumanian democracy, all who have constantly opposed any form of dictatorship, have been arrested. All political parties have been suppressed. The right of free assembly is but a distant memory. There are no more democratic newspapers. Not alone views contrary to those of the Communist regime, but even the suspicion of holding such views, are now considered as political crimes and punished with long terms of imprisonment. It is not enough that the citizen in the present Communist state of Rumania may not express any opinion divergent from that of the regime; he is constantly held to state that he is in full agreement with everything the regime does. In Rumania today even the right to be silent has been suppressed.

Following the Moscow conference, the Communist government of Bucarest solemnly undertook to restore public liberties and to carry out free elections. Instead, it carried out the most fraudulent elections ever recorded, under the fiercest terror. The governments of the United States and Great Britain, signatories of the Moscow agreements, have established these facts in a definitive manner. (Cf. the brochure "Suppression of Human Rights in Rumania", annexed hereto).

In its task of destroying all free and civilized institutions, nothing is being spared by the Communist regime. All ideals proper to civilized man, all strivings toward human dignity, all pious feelings must be done away with. Faith in God must be suppressed, the Churches abased and enslaved or ousted. Thus in Rumania today the Uniate Church has been liquidated through force and fraud, the Roman Catholic Church persecuted and its high prelates thrown in prison, while the Orthodox Church, deprived of its legitimate leaders, is transformed into a simple tool of Communist propaganda. (Cf. the brochure "Persecution of Religion in Rumania", annexed hereto).

Education, too, is perverted. School books have been replaced with manuals of Communist propaganda; recorded history is being falsified to serve Russian-Communist imperialism; scientific truth is replaced with Communist lies. Every publication must bear the imprint of some Communist organization, and may have no other purpose than to glorify Soviet Russia. For it is not enough to glorify Communism. Above anything else, it must be loudly proclaimed that any communist country or any country of so-called "popular democracy" is but an annex of Soviet Russia. "Scanteia", the official organ of the Communist party in Rumania, has issued the following credo: "The first duty of a Rumanian patriot is to love Soviet Russia". (Cf. the brochure "Perversion of Education in Rumania", annexed hereto).

Sir:

The Government of Rumania is obligated to respect the human rights and fundamental liberties of all Rumanian citizens, not only in virtue of the provisions of the Charter and of the general principles accepted by the United Nations, but also, particularly, through the express provisions of the Peace Treaty (Article 3). The violation of these obligations have been brought to the attention of the United Nations, and placed on the agenda of the present General Assembly. The Bucarest government has refused to designate an arbitrator, in compliance with the provisions of Article 38, and hence has set at nought these formal and unambiguous dispositions. The prescribed procedure provided in the Treaty itself, in case of differences arising from the application of that Treaty, has therefore likewise been violated by the Communist government of Bucarest. The Court of International Justice has been requested to issue an opinion in this issue. The Court duly opined that the Rumanian government was obligated to designate an arbitrator. However, in view of the manifest bad faith of that government, the Court was unable to indicate the juridical means that might oblige the Bucarest regime to fulfill its undertakings assumed under Article 38.

This, assuredly, cannot be taken to mean that the basic obligations provided in the Peace Treaty may be annulled by a one-sided act of bad faith. Nor, assuredly, can it mean that the United Nations may not properly deal with this matter, with the purpose of assuring the respect of human rights and fundamental liberties in Rumania.

On the contrary, this is precisely a case where the United Nations should intervene. Indeed, on the one hand, no act of bad faith may prevent the will of the United Nations from restoring the fundamental rights of a people. And on the other hand, if through an act of bad faith a government can suppress any resort to international justice or to peaceful means of solving differences, the sole remaining solution of such differences would be war. The present imperfect state of international law - as evidenced in the advice of the Court of International Justice in this instance - must not be allowed to lead to such disastrous conclusions.

The basic obligations subsist. The special procedure provided in the Peace Treaty has been thwarted by the bad faith of the Communist government of Bucarest. Other procedures must therefore be found, to assure the respect of the rights of the Rumanian people. It is certainly one of the missions of the United Nations to do so. The fundamental principles of the United Nations Organization, as well as the positive provisions of the Charter attribute this obligation. The mission of the United Nations may not be thwarted either by the bad faith of

a Communist government nor by dubious difficulties of procedure. At stake is the tragedy of an entire nation. Salvation calls for effective measures. The solution cannot be found either in procedural dispositions or in a vague desire for appeasement. The aim cannot be to obtain new promises or statements from the Communist government of Bucarest. That government can at any time issue such promises and statements. But it will no more respect them in the future than it has respected any of the obligations it has signed in the past. It has no wish and no intention to respect such obligations. Indeed, it cannot respect them. For its own existence is at stake. The Communist regime of Rumania cannot conceivably subsist in an atmosphere of legality and liberty. It can live solely by terror.

None can view with indifference the present situation of Rumania and of the other countries behind the Iron Curtain, alleging that they merely affect a distant part of the world. Today the connections between every part of the world are far deeper and closer than might be apparent. The present boundary of Russian-Communist expansion is but provisional. It is but the point of departure of new attacks. Europe itself is too small to be divided into zones. The world itself has become too vulnerable to tolerate such grievous amputations.

The laws, the principles, and the ideals of the United Nations are of universal scope. They must necessarily apply to the nations presently held in bondage behind the Iron Curtain, and which, through their history, through their character, and through their aspirations, are an integral part of the civilized world.

The United Nations are successfully pursuing the gradual liberation of all the peoples of the world. Under the auspices of the United Nations, people that have not hitherto known national independence are achieving liberty and sovereignty. It is entirely impossible that, at the same time, ancient nations that have been independent for ages should be forcibly subjugated and fall under a regime of slavery that the United Nations wish to have disappear from the face of the earth.

The Communist government of Bucarest is not a Rumanian government. It did not come to power even as the expression of a minority's will. Nor was it installed through any revolution or civil war. No, the Communist government of Bucarest was imposed under duress by the Soviet Union.

The people of Rumania is not guilty of any of the crimes committed by the Communist government of Bucarest. On the contrary, it lives in terror under a regime that is

altogether alien to its own will and aspirations.

The Rumanian National Committee appeals to the United Nations, and to each Delegation in part, requesting a close examination of the tragic situation of the Rumanian people, through a special Commission to be appointed by the General Assembly. It will be easy to verify the truth of all above assertions.

Lastly, the Rumanian National Committee requests the United Nations to restore the liberties of the Rumanian people and the independence of the Rumanian state, replacing the present government that was imposed under duress, by a free government chosen through free and democratic elections controlled by the United Nations.

The Rumanian National Committee remains entirely at the disposal of the appropriate organs of the United Nations General Assembly to provide all necessary data concerning the suppression of human rights and all fundamental liberties in Rumania.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of our highest consideration.

for the RUMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

AUGUSTIN POPA
former member of the
Rumanian Parliament

CONSTANTIN VISOIANU
former Minister of Foreign
Affairs of Rumania

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